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will summon a constituent assembly elected by a free, secret and democratic franchise, as the supreme legislature for Russia, to which the government of Russia must be responsible, or, if at that time order is not sufficiently restored, they will summon the constituent assembly elected in 1917, to sit until such time as new elections are possible.

"Secondly, that throughout the areas which they at present control they will permit free elections in the normal course for all local and legally constituted assemblies, such as municipalities, zemstvos, &c.

No Special Privileges

"Thirdly, that they will countenance no attempt to revive the special privilege of any class or order in Russia.

"The Allied and Associated Powers have noted with satisfaction the solemn declaration made by Admiral Kolchak and his associates that they have no intention of restoring the former land system. They feel that the principles to be followed in the solution of this and other internal questions must be left to the free decision of the Russian constituent assembly; but they wish to be assured that those whom they are prepared to assist stand for the civil and religious liberty of all Russian citizens and will make no attempt to reintroduce the régime which the revolution has destroyed.

"Fourthly, that the independence of Finland and Poland be recognized and that in the event of the frontiers and other relations between Russia and those countries not being settled by agreement they will be referred to the arbitration of the League of Nations.

To Co-operate With League

"Fifthly, that if a solution of the relations between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Caucasian and Transcaspian territories and Russia is not speedily reached by agreement, the settlement will be made in consultation and co-operation with the League of Nations and that until such settlement is made the government of Russia agrees to recognize these territories as autonomous and to confirm the relations which may exist between their *de facto* governments and the Allied and Associated governments.

"Sixthly, that the right of the peace conference to determine the future of the Rumanian part of Bessarabia be recognized.

"Seventhly, that as soon as a government for Russia has been constituted on a democratic basis, Russia should join the League of Nations and co-operate with the other members in the limitation of armaments and other military organizations throughout the world.

"Finally, that they abide by the declaration made by Admiral Kolchak on November 27, 1918, in regard to Russia's national debt.

"The Allied and Associated Powers will be glad to learn as soon as possible whether the government of Admiral Kolchak and his associates are prepared to accept these conditions and also whether in the event of acceptance they will undertake to form a single government and army command as soon as the military situation makes it possible.

"G. CLEMENCEAU,
"LLOYD GEORGE,
"ORLANDO,
"WOODROW WILSON,
"SAIONJI."

On June 12 the council of four framed and despatched a reply to the note of Admiral Kolchak, which the above communication had called forth. It is interpreted as meaning *de facto* recognition of the Omsk Government. The text of the note follows:

"The Allied and Associated Powers wish to acknowledge the receipt of Admiral Kolchak's reply to their note of May 26. They welcome the terms of that reply, which seem to them to be in substantial agreement with the propositions they had made and to contain satisfactory assurances for the freedom, self-government and peace of the Russian people and their neighbors.

"They are therefore willing to extend to Admiral Kolchak and his associates the support set forth in their original letter.

"LLOYD GEORGE,
"WILSON,
"CLEMENCEAU,
"MAKINO."

June 17.—The Council of Ten received the Turkish peace commission, headed by Damad Ferid Pasha, the grand vizier, all of whom appeared solely in the capacity of experts, for the purpose of setting forth the Turkish situation to the Conference. The session was secret.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Aeronautics, as developed during the war and since, have forced on nations international co-operation and uniform legislation to a degree and with a particularity of definition that no prophet of 1913 would have ventured upon. France quickly recognized this, and under her patronage an international convention, held in Paris last March, began consideration of the problems involved and agreement on the definition of policy necessary. But it was seen that a more formal consideration by duly authorized national representatives was imperative, and that it would be necessary to have as part of the product of the Peace Conference just such a deliverance as this body, informally called, had planned to make. So steps were taken to form an aeronautical commission of the Peace Conference with delegates formally representing the nations sharing in the conference and having experts on aviation, and the body, after some delay assembled, sat steadily, and has submitted to the Supreme Council a convention. This, if approved by the council and by the signatory powers will become the code. To illustrate the range that had to be covered by this commission, run over the list of main topics it deals with, as for instance: The nationality and registration of aircraft; general principles governing the right of international flight; certificates of air worthiness and competency; principles governing flight over foreign territory; rules to be observed on departure or landing and when under way; prohibition of the carriage of certain objects; the international commission for air navigation.

Technical details are relegated to annexes in the following order: The marking of aircraft; certificates of air worthiness; log books; rules as to lights and signals and rules of the air; certificates of competency, including medical requirements; international maps and ground marks; meteorological information; customs.

The International Aeronautic Federation, in session in Paris ere it adjourned, unanimously voted to request the delegates from each country to present to their government representatives the following requests:

First. That the liberty of aerial navigation be re-established as soon as possible in conformity with the decision of the Peace Conference.

Second. That civilian aeronautics in the various countries be placed under the control of the Aviation Ministry or Department.

Third. That all the aero clubs affiliated with the International Aeronautic Federation be represented upon the International Commission on Aerial Navigation, which is to be created after peace is signed.

Fourth. That in every country the National Aero Club be represented in the National Commission on Aeronautics.

Japan's victory in Paris, as the price paid for her remaining a signatory of the revised League of Nations Covenant, is defined in the following text of the treaty presented to Germany, in the section dealing with disposition of territory in Asia. What reservations and understandings exist beyond this formal record, is not known. The provisions of the section dealing with Shantung province were reported to be as follows, when the terms of the treaty were first made public:

"Germany renounces in favor of Japan all her right, titles and privileges, particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables which she acquired by virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China, March 6, 1898, and all other arrangements relative to the province of Shantung.

"All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of mines are to remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

"The German submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chifu, with all rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

"Movable and immovable property owned by the German state in the territory of Kiaochow as well as all rights which Germany might claim in consequence of works or improvements made or other expenses incurred by her directly or indirectly in connection with this territory are and remain acquired by Japan free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

"Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the archives, registers, title deeds, and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, civil or military, financial or judicial or other of the territory of Kiaochow.

"Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements and agreements relating to the rights, title, and privileges referred to in the two preceding articles."

China's resident American and European Protestant missionaries on May 25 forwarded by cable to Paris, for use by the representatives of China at the Peace Conference, the following memorial dealing with present and probable conditions of race and national conflict in the Far East, if the conference abides by its original settlement of the rights of China to Tsingtau and other territory in the province of Shantung. These memorialists say:

"As a body of foreign residents in Peking and its neighborhood, who by reason of their intimate relation with various classes of Chinese may claim to be in peculiarly close touch with Chinese thought and feeling, we members of the Peking Missionary Association beg respectfully to draw attention to the deep disappointment and apprehension caused in all the best sections of Chinese opinion by the published accounts of the action of the Peace Conference at Paris relating to Tsing-tao. This body feels that in the light of all information at our disposal such resentment is perfectly justified.

"Most ardent hopes were widely entertained by the Chinese people that the Peace Conference would restore

Shantung to China, bringing to an end all agreements with or concessions made to Germany. The Chinese further hoped that such a decision by the Peace Conference would signalize the beginning of new order in international affairs with regards to the Far East and secure for China a peaceful development in harmony with other nations. The settlement of the Shantung question made known by the Peace Treaty has dashed those hopes to the ground and created a very serious situation.

"It is the gravity of this situation for Japan as well as China that the Missionary Association wish to emphasize with all the force at our command. We feel that the movement which has been started in China is the natural result of this disappointment, which is likely to grow in strength and to persist, and which will, if disregarded, and if its aspirations remain wholly unsatisfied, seriously menace the peace of the Far East. We feel bound to express our conviction to this effect."

The League of Four Small Nations, made up of Esthonians, Lithuanians, Letts and Ukrainians of America, came into being early in June. It stands for the interests of groups of persons and nationalities in Europe, who have 3,000,000 of their fellow countrymen in the United States, and is the result of negotiations that have been under way for some time between the officials of their several organizations formed early in the war to conserve the interest of the home lands. The league plans to bring pressure to bear in Paris, especially on the American Commission, for such a settlement of the Russian problem as will enable these peoples to form a federation on democratic, republican lines; and failing in action by the Conference to induce the United States to recognize their independence.

Philippine Islands' Independence raises an issue of "self-determination" and resort to the promised League of Nations as a protector, for the United States to settle, which will test the sincerity of its efforts abroad. The text, in part, of the memorial presented June 4th to a joint meeting of the Senate Committee on the Philippines and the House Committee on Insular Affairs by a special commission of Filipinos representing the people of the islands and the insular legislature, reads thus:

"Such a step will insure the maintenance of a firm and lasting friendship between the two peoples and will foster the free development of their commercial relations in the future; it will place on a high level the honor of America by the fulfillment of her repeated promises to grant freedom to the Filipino people.

"It is confidently hoped and believed that the Congress will not suffer this opportunity to pass by at a time when the whole world is so anxious to establish international relations upon newer and more solid foundations of universal freedom and liberty.

"The independence of the Philippines at this time will constitute an object lesson for the whole world, for it will furnish a practical application of the doctrine of giving to all peoples the right of self-determination.

"For the first time in the history of colonial relations a subject and alien race comes to ask the severance of their political connection with the sovereign Nation without recounting any act of injustice done to them and demanding reparation therefor; but rather with a feeling of gratitude and affection."

The memorialists also pledged Congress that there would be an immediate appeal to the League of Nations (should one come into being) for a guarantee of protection, and that the islands, failing in such

recourse, would never become the dependent or ally of any Asiatic nation, since the new state would recognize always its obligations of honor and gratitude toward the United States. It is needless to say that the action of Congress on this matter will be watched with much interest by the nations of Europe and Asia, to see just how far the American record facing a practical issue coincides with the position of the American delegation at the Paris Conference, and with the action of Congress in attempting to advise Great Britain as to her duty toward Ireland.

A World League Against Alcohol, with headquarters in the city of Washington, D. C., was organized in the latter city, June 5, sixteen nations being represented. The first session of this new international organization will be held in the city of its birth next October, with a large assembly drawn from many lands; and from now on the ideals and methods of the Anti-Saloon League of the United States will be contended for by this society, which does not lack at the start in either adherents or money or skillful organizers, especially such as have been trained in the United States and who have aided in committing that nation to prohibition. Some of these skillful workers have been in Paris during the sessions of the Peace Conference, sowing seed there and trying to induce action that at least would commit the leagued nations to rigid control or suppression of the liquor traffic with natives of backward countries. It will be noted that in article twelve of the revised covenant of peace, (page 157, May issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*), which has to do with mandatories and the duties they will accept as guardians of colonies and territories assigned to them, it is stated that the League will hold them responsible for "the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic." At the informal international congress in Paris it was agreed that the care of determining freely its legislation concerning alcohol, should be left to each country, and that each nation should engage not to make any reprisals against a state whose anti-alcoholic measures might cause them commercial prejudice, so long as the measures taken had a general character and did not present the aspect of a disguised protectionism, and were inspired solely by the desire to combat the excessive use of alcohol.

Korean "nationalistic" propaganda has found ways and means during the past month of letting the Americas and Europe know some of the experiences which the people of the ancient "Hermit Nation" have undergone during the past few months at the hands of Japanese civil and military authorities. To the credit of some of the journalists and public men of Japan be it said that they have not failed to make protest against such proved severity of treatment and to demand a radical change of policy toward the Korean subjects of the empire. The pressure of both home and foreign public opinion has already induced the Hara ministry to announce a much more liberal, less militaristic and forcibly assimilative policy. But this will not satisfy the Korean "republican" leaders

or a majority of their followers. Just how far the champions of national independence would go may be inferred from the text of the proposed constitution, promulgated last April (27) by a provisional cabinet and representatives selected by the people, sitting at an unnamed city of the Orient. The text of the constitution is as follows:

"By the will of God the people of Korea, both within and without the country, have united in a peaceful declaration of their independence and for more than one month have carried on their demonstrations in more than 300 districts, and because of their faith in the movement they have, by their representatives, chosen a provisional government to carry on to completion this independence and so to preserve blessings for our children and grandchildren.

"The provisional government in its council of state has decided on a provisional constitution, which it now proclaims:

"1. The Ta Han (Korean) republic shall follow republican principles.

"2. All powers of state shall rest with the provisional council of State and the provisional government.

"3. There shall be no class distinction among the citizens of the Ta Han republic, but men and women, noble and common, rich and poor, shall have equality.

"4. The citizens of the Ta Han republic shall have religious liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of writing and publication, the right to hold public meetings and form social organizations and the full right to choose their dwellings or change their abode.

"5. The citizens of the Ta Han republic shall have the right to vote for all public officials or to be elected to public office.

"6. Citizens will be subject to compulsory education and military service and payment of taxes.

"7. Since by the will of God the Ta Han republic has arisen in the world and has come forward as a tribute to the world peace and civilization, for this reason we wish to become a member of the League of Nations.

"8. The Ta Han republic will extend benevolent treatment to the former imperial family.

"9. The death penalty, corporal punishment and public prostitution will be abolished.

"10. Within one year of the recovery of our lands the national congress will be convened.

"Signed by the provisional secretary of state and the minister of foreign affairs, home affairs, justice, finance, war, communications.

"In the first year of the Ta Han republic, fourth month.

"The following are six principles of government:

"1. We proclaim the equality of the people and the state.

"2. The lives and property of foreigners shall be respected.

"3. All political offenders shall be specially pardoned.

"4. We will observe all treaties that shall be made with foreign powers.

"5. We swear to stand by the independence of Korea.

"6. Those who disregard the orders of the provisional government will be regarded as enemies of the state."

The All-Russian Government, with present headquarters at Omsk, having been recognized by the allied and associated powers on June 12, is pledged by Admiral Kolchak, its present head, to stand for certain ideals and methods in government upon the strict keeping of which he and his government will be judged both by the nations who have just recognized him and by posterity. The conditions were imposed in order to justify to a critical world an act which otherwise might seem contrary to the dominant motive of the Conference as defined by President Wilson; but the conditions having been imposed and having been accepted, it is now the grave duty and by no means easy task of the Omsk government to proceed to organize as rapidly as possible in a constructive way as much of Russia as will voluntarily enter into the compact. At the same time it must aggressively fight the Soviet party, at least so long as it follows Lenin and Trotsky. In the first place it should be noted that this understanding assumes that the Omsk government is to become the nucleus of an All-Russia government. Second, Admiral Kolchak plans to step aside with the forming of a national constituent assembly, and has taken oath to do this, thus leaving to the popular body, to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage, full power to determine the precise power that the government shall have. Immediate discussion with the Powers of disarmament and other phases of war is welcomed, so that "free and peaceful development of all peoples" may follow; but final action on the same must be reserved to the coming national assembly, as also will decisions respecting Poland, Finland, and the national groups that during the war have left Russia to set up autonomous States for which they are seeking recognition by the nations and by the Peace Conference. If in dealing with these problems a way to agreement cannot be found by discussion and by diplomacy Admiral Kolchak pledges the government to entrust settlement to the League of Nations. The burden of the national debt is to be assumed, and it is a weightier one than it would have been if the peculiar notions of Lenin as to fiat money had not been operative for so long a time. No restoration of monarchy is to be contemplated or tolerated. An honest attempt to deal with the agrarian problem will be made. All persons before the law will be considered equal, and all will receive, without distinction of origin or of religion, the protection of the State and of the law. The logical result, of course, of this decision of the Powers will be at once to put at the command of the forces of the Omsk government large supplies of stores. It will also, for a time, undoubtedly revitalize the Bolshevik government in mid-European Russia and will stiffen its resistance to a disintegrating movement within as well as to a stout foe without.

A Japanese-German alliance, as an already consummated fact but awaiting full disclosure at a convenient season, is reported from both European and Asiatic sources of rumor and truth. Just which of the two this tale is, we will not say; but there are reasons why, unless the Germany of today and tomorrow differs radically from the Germany of yesterday, she should in

her search for a friend in a world generally hostile to her, turn to the Power of the Far East, most like her in ideals of the State, its primacy over all other groupings of men, and in its right to use any means to promote national victory either in war, diplomacy, or economic expansion. If Japan does not like this statement of her case, if she chafes under the universal dimming of her reputation at the present hour, which is so different from the world's attitude at the time she challenged and defeated Russia, she can only blame herself. Her recent record in Korea in dealing with the revolutionary uprising, her hard bargaining in Paris by which she got Shantung as the price of her adherence to the Treaty and the Peace Covenant, and her record of devious diplomacy in dealing with China during the past 15 years are the causes of the declension of the world's trust in her words and in her motives.

Nor need she think that the verdict is to be altered by preventing news of happenings in Korea, Japan and China from finding its way out to the world, or by sending eloquent and accidentally trained Japanese around the United States and Great Britain pleading for continuation of "faith" in Nippon. That vein is worked out, to use a miner's phrase. So much is known about the facts, that *all* must be known. The day of camouflage under the guise of "amity and good will" and reminiscences of Commodore Perry, has passed. Japan's best friends in the United States today are those who will frankly tell her statesmen to quit following Prussian ideals which Ito learned from Bismarck, and honestly join the ranks of the democratic nations of the world. This involves two courses at least. The mythological State religion must go; and the national will as expressed in Parliament must control national policy, domestic and foreign. No throne that rests on a lie and derives its popular power from a belief that the "knowing" scoff at, is likely to weather long such winds of realistic democracy as now blow. No national assembly that has only the semblance of power can really come in touch with the ethics of a land grab such as is proposed in Shantung or sympathetically meet and dissipate a revolt of a dependent people like the Koreans.

Fortunately all reports from Japan indicate that the combination of militarists and bureaucrats is not as powerful as it was formerly. Hara, now in power, is the nation's first premier who was born a commoner. He was a journalist, traveller, administrative officer with wide experience; and he is a man who is a genuine progressive. He and his party temporarily may be hampered by a national reaction against America and Europe because of discriminations shown at the Paris Conference. But this will not last forever. Japan cannot permanently resist the reflex influence upon her life of the altered political structure of Russia and China. Nor can she afford to lose the fraternal respect of America and Western Europe.

The text of the alleged secret treaty between Germany and Japan, said to have been in the possession of the State Department, Washington, since March 1, is to be found in the Christian Science Monitor of June 20. The Russian revolution stopped negotiation of details and combined German-Russian-Japanese partition of Asia.